

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went together naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youth and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the linings and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadaveri to the village of Secodemun on the plains

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadaveri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worn, eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primordial flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childish happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood on one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds, ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

At dawn of the following day, Caro-Pirabê said to the maiden:
"You will give birth to beings who will annul the warriors
of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the terror, amazement and indignation in
Necodemus when Irachera gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Irachera's brothers and her own mother were the first to
pronounce against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Irachera and
her newborn babes, she fled swift as an *oua* bird into the woods,
searching in her trembling arms the fruit of her mysterious love.

Wandering through the forest, Irachera finally stopped, ex-
hausted, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already
grow in the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warning
them at night against her fiery brow.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields
hunting and bringing back *inhambis* birds and partridges, and then
Irachera lived in the midst of plenty. (90)

At night her children made formidable guards, and they
watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Irachera went to Necodemus and recounted these
marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemus did not re-
voke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would
easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mandaraca would
become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would van-
quish all other tribes, their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Irachera were received amid general ap-
proach; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

And indeed the Mandaraca treat the dog as their own off-
spring: the women suckle newborn pups as their own babies and
shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had
been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body care-
fully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to
the vultures.

609 Modona and the Xingó are not *parientes* to the Tapajós Mandurucú; they are *hermanos*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brachyops are called Baracatera. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parawá, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Badiocapures, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cassener" [people of Ceará?], the Carawá, known as "Messerholden" have a bad reputation. The *Judeus*, the Jews, are hated, as having [79] treated the Mandurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in snakes on the Cururu and the Barra in 1860, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mandurucú and Apaná fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

SOME NOTES ON GENERAL CULTURE

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mandurucú is *huc* culture. They maintain that formerly maize and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [60] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mandurucú never kills his domestic animals, but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mandurucú endures enforced fast with much patience without indulging in facile complaints.

242 The Mandurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mandurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusá/bé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to: I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mandurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however promise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mandurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected.

1931 On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked. [See errors sheet, coll. p. 11, p. 57-11-Analysis]

411 They make

their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidarus), the lance (oba carahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacana), the javeline (rap), and the bow which is difficult to draw (iaff) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (paguie, or rap, rap vila) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a sitotag, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow, [388] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Dictionario geograph. II. 136
and Carqueiro e Silva Corograf. paranaense
118, attribute to them also the blowgun
(enguatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mandurucu are great artists in the manufacture of feather ornaments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
238-239 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (hata) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (horihim manja); hats (aleri) often outlined with long braids of arrow feathers (aleri hata); cords and tassels with arrow feathers (para-cara) which they wear at dances over the shoulder like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for their trade. They compete with the Aplanca in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken manamo or huccu (Cass) their fowl yards have the jacu (Pezolope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubitinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

704
276 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them, the Mandurucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [394] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa aculeata, which is in vogue among the Minas and among their neighbors the Maura. But they

Santaria and *Corapa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parietaria* (Conashio). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingó and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apiapá* (see Sodermer, 1937), but according to Nhamandjé, it may be doubted that the Mundurucu actually went so far east. A Rio-Brasília punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the Mundurucu abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the Mundurucu still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hart, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Sodermer, 1937).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiapá* in *Mara Gwara*; Martins (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nhamandjé's opinion (personal communication), however, that the Mundurucu were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. Mundurucu legend attributes their origin to the town of Nhamandjé in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Mundurucu subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and guava. Tocantins names some 30 uncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy. Martins (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Içará Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the Mundurucu now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The Mundurucu are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of Mundurucu hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.